1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32.Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

763 for some time with a series of one long followed by two short beats to announce that a death has occurred in the house; he then climbs down, and continues this drumming on the ground until the relatives and friends of the dead man assemble, or until the body is taken out to be cremated. Sometimes they fire guns at intervals for the same purpose. Messengers are sent out to neighbouring villages to bid relatives to the funeral.

764 When all the men and women have assembled the body is taken out of the house and washed with a pot of water and anointed with a mixture of ground turmeric and oil. They then spread a cloth on a bier of bamboo wicker-work, lay the body on it, and spread a cloth over it. Each male relative who can afford it brings a cloth and similarly spreads it over the body. Four men then carry the bier on their shoulders to the cremation ground, followed by all the [533] mourners, and men beating the dactylic funeral drum-beat. The pyre is made there, the body laid on it with head to the east and feet to the west, and covered over with fuel. Two men, generally two sons, or two sons-in-law, or a son and a son-in-law, then kindle the pyre at the head and the feet of the body respectively. As soon as the pyre is blazing fiercely the company leaves the cremation ground and returns to the dead man's house for food. The cremation ground is almost always on the side of the path or road opposite to the row of menhirs erected to commemorate the dead, which is known to the Bison-horn Marias as *uraskal*.

[787 On the next day all go to the cremation ground to see whether the body has been completely reduced to ashes; if any portion 761] remains unburnt, it is a sign that the death was due to the magic of some enemy. All condole with the members of the bereaved family and return to their houses.

On the next Saturday morning comes the erection of the *uraskal* menhir. There are *uraskal* with great numbers of menhirs almost everywhere in the Bison-horn country, and in most parts villagers continue to erect them for men, women and children whenever a death occurs. On the Jagdalpur side, however, and [718] around Paknar, though every village has its *uraskal*, new menhirs are seldom set up in these days, the reason given being always that the ceremony is too expensive. It is indeed expensive, for if properly done it involves the killing of at least one, and possibly two cows, a pig or two, and the provision of three or four *khandi* of grain—*kutki*, *urad*, *mung* and rice—and an adequate supply of 764 *mahua* spirit and *landa*. But expense is not taken into account at 177 weddings, where open house is kept for a thousand guests if need be. 554 The real reason is that these Bison-horn Marias are in close contact with Hinduism with its veneration of the cow; and as they raise

[see cat. 116, p. 426. — Analyst]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

themselves socially they not only cease to follow old Maria customs, but begin to resent being called Marias and to claim the designation of Muria. In some places, especially in villages where it is hard to find suitable menhir stones, they erect in their stead posts of *saja* wood, which they call *wrasgatta*. The upper illustration on plate XXI shows a very elaborate *wrasgatta* from a roadside village near the Chitrakot falls, on the northernmost fringe of the Bison-horn country. It is carved on each of its carefully squared sides with representations of hunting scenes, and the objects of the chase. Originally these were picked out in red and blue paint. Plate XXII shows part of a large row of *wraskal* menhirs by the side of the road from Dantewara to Kameli, at the foot of the bridle-path ascending to the Bailadila guest-house; such enormous menhirs as those shown behind the women in this illustration are seldom set up in these days; the tallest shown was thirteen feet high, and the broadest over six feet wide at the base. The normal size of those nowadays erected is shown in the lower illustration on plate XXI; this portrays part of the *wraskal* of Aranpur village, by the side of the forest road from Kuakonda to Dummagudem, and at the head of the Aranpur pass. In this photograph the interesting thing is the large flat stone resting on four boulders.[A] This is known as a *danya-kal*, and was placed there as the memorial of Birya-Marvi Hurra Wadde, who in his life-time was *perma* and *bhum-gaita* of Aranpur, as well as a *wadde*. The Birya-Marvi and the Kuhrami clans are the only two which always make *danyakal* and never set up *wraskal* stones; all the other clans, even in the Marvi and Kuhrami phratries, and including the small or Chudala Marvi clan, erect *wraskal* stones. This Aranpur *wraskal* was not restricted to the Birya-Marvi clan, although the village was founded by that clan; the *danyakal* stone on the right edge of the photograph was the last stone at the south end of the row; next to it on the north were fifteen *wraskal* stones of the Kunjami clan, and after them three of the Chudala Marvi clan. The small stones at the foot of the menhirs are known as *kawal-kutul* or ghost stools, and serve the same function as the *kawal-garya* cromlechs of the Hill Marias. Any recently erected stone can usually be detected either by the presence of a cow's or pig's tail hung over its apex by a loop of cord, or by the dirty white stains of libations of *landa* poured over the stone when it was set up.

The stone is selected and carried from the quarry to the place where it is to be erected in much the same way as that already described for the Hill Marias. I use the word quarry advisedly, for these great slabs or pillars cannot be found as surface boulders. I have not seen the actual quarrying; but they understand how to

[A] [See col. 116, pp. 426-427. - Awal/48]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

Masa, the children's uncle and sole survivor of the elder branch of the family, was the Waddai of the clan-god of Japgunda. He seems to have resented the way a poor Lamana'i boy like Erka had risen in the world and become owner of both his brothers' property, and there was some tension in the relations between the two houses. For five or six years, Erka had had good crops and Masa bad ones, and Masa decided that his failure must be due to the fact that Erka was practising magic against him. One day he openly accused the younger man of sorcery and challenged him to an ordeal. Erka, who had no desire to quarrel, accepted and a pot of boiling water and cowdung was prepared. Erka dipped his fingers into it and was badly burned.

This incident convinced the villagers that Erka was a sorcerer and had a curious effect on his own character. He found that, far from being a social outcaste, he—the poor Lamana'i boy—was believed to have the ear of the goddess Parkal Muttai and that many people were coming to him for advice and help. He grew proud and arrogant and when he caused the death of a calf, a pig and a fowl belonging to Masa, no one dared to remonstrate with him. Bija's little boys were growing up and Erka built a house of his own near by. Presently Aga was to be married and some time late in August 1943 the wedding was held in Bija's old house. Masa was, of course, invited but on his way to join the festivities—for the essence of a Hill Maria marriage is a dance, a drink and a heavy meal—Erka went out to intercept him. He greeted him pleasantly and showing him a gourd of rice-beer took him aside to drink with him on the bank of the village pond. Some time later boys coming in their finery for the marriage dance saw the two men sitting together by the water under a virgin moon. The next day Masa's mutilated body was found in the pond.

Erka immediately used his reputation as a sorcerer to hush the matter up. He called the elders to his house, bribed the Kotwar whose duty it was to report suspicious deaths to the police, and taking the headman and another person of some influence aside, sat them down and drew on the ground what was described at the trial as a 'magic line'. He put dub grass, a knife and a bit of cowdung on it and two rupees on one side and three rupees on the other. Then he asked the two men to pick up the money, saying that this act bound them to secrecy. Deeply impressed, the headman went out and told the other villagers that they must cremate the body at once and make no report to the authorities. On the way to the pyre the usual divination by *sāja* leaves was performed and indicated that Masa had died by violence. It was five months before rumours of the crime reached the police.

2: Elwin. E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

883[x]
553

and they are soon ordering about those unfortunate children who have not yet received their names.

III

883[x]
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In time the little boy will grow up and may become Sirdar or Diwan; the little girl may one day be Belosa. How are these appointments made? The choosing of the leaders is a serious matter, for they not only have great power over the happiness of the children, but they are also responsible for the smooth working of village life. The elders of the village, as well as the boys and girls, are anxious that the best appointments should be made.

How is the leader chosen? The Muria have not discovered the principle of voting, which I do not think would appeal to a people so devoid of jealousy and the spirit of rivalry. Generally the new leader is an obvious choice; the boy who has acted as second-in-command has been well trained, and if he is a good boy will naturally step into the old leader's place. If all the leaders are married in the same year, the matter is more difficult; but if he is available, the position usually goes to the boy whose special duty it has been to look after the motiari. If he can fill that, he can fill any office. The choice is made easier by the fact that the old leader does not relinquish his office immediately after marriage; he continues in it for six to twelve months longer. Sometimes he remains permanently: at Masora, the Diwan is Lakmu, a married man with sons in the ghotul. But Lakmu still retains his title and is the final court of appeal in all disputes. Under these circumstances there is plenty of time for the ghotul to make up its mind. In a serious case of dispute, the village headman or the Pargana Manjhi is asked to intervene and decide.

[152]

The leader of the girls is appointed in much the same way, though here the influence of the boys' leader counts for a great deal. Especially in those ghotul where the chelik and motiari pair off, the Sirdar's motiari is often made leader of the girls.

What sort of boy or girl is chosen to be Sirdar or Belosa? Except in the Kalpatti and Bandadesh Pargana of the north-west, where the son or a near relative of the Kaser-Gaita must be appointed, no one has any claim on office by reason of the wealth or position of his parents. To become the head of a ghotul is a simple triumph of character. We may gain some idea of the qualities expected from the following descriptions. The first is from Binjhli. 'A good man is one who helps in difficulty and sympathizes in sorrow. Dhansai Muria was like that. He never told a lie. He spoke kindly and gently to everyone. He was never seen angry. Even when he was drunk he never swore at people.' And in Kuntpadar we were told about Nattu Babu, a Mussalman. 'He thinks everyone equal to him. He loves humble people, he loves the ugly, he loves the destitute. You would never think he was a Mussalman.' On the other hand, a bad man, like Mundra Muria, is 'friends with no one. He speaks friendly to your face, then goes away and does you an injury. When there is work he avoids it, he is rough and abusive in speech. When he sees a good harvest in another's field, he burns with jealousy.'

A leader therefore must be gentle, friendly, not quick to anger or abuse, a good worker himself. He must be able to organize the work at a marriage or festival, and arrange for an official's camp. He must be popular with the girls, who naturally have a lot to say in his appointment. And in most ghotul, the leader admirably fulfils these conditions. You could not find anywhere boys more intelligent, gentle and hard-working than the boys who

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

in 1940-1 were the Salya of Binjhli, the Sirdar of Sidhawand and Malakot, the Hikmi of Almer, the Likhen of Kanhargaon, the Kotwar of Kabonga.

When the old leader, the Sirdar, decides finally to lay down his office, there is a small ceremony for the appointment of his successor. The following is the custom in villages of the Chalka Pargana. The old Sirdar, after giving due notice to the elders of the village and the ghotul members, comes on an appointed day wearing a new turban which he has bought himself, five to eight hands long. The ghotul members collect money in the village and purchase liquor. When everyone has assembled in the ghotul, the elders ask the members, 'Whom do you want for Sirdar?' They give the name of the boy they want and the elders remove the turban from the old Sirdar and tie it round the head of his successor, saying, 'From today the ghotul is in your hands. Whatever you command must be done'. The members reply, 'We will do whatever he says'. Then the elders say, 'Look, boy, these children are in your care. If you take them to another village, yours is the responsibility. When they are sleeping, look to see that every child is there. You may go hungry, but don't let the children starve. When there is a marriage, you must arrange the work. When anyone dies, you must see to it. When a visitor comes, you must arrange wood and water. See that the ghotul is always clean and the children are also clean. For if they are happy, it is your credit; if they are ruined, it is your fault.' At this point, in some villages, the girls present the new Sirdar with a new sleeping-mat; in Binjhli, they give him three rings, which he wears throughout his time of office and returns when he resigns; in Markabera, they give him a leaf-pipe of honour. Finally the girls formally give him his new name, hitting him on the back with clenched fists, and his 'subjects' salute him with Johar and place tika-marks of rice on his forehead. They give him liquor to drink, and celebrate his appointment with a dance.

[787] In Khutgaon village, I found that the turban ceremony had been abandoned. Some years ago a dog urinated on it. This was regarded as a very bad omen, and when the Siraha was consulted he declared that they must no more tie the turban on the leader's head nor must the motiari any longer touch the heads of the boys with their combs. The disappearance of old customs is not always due to alien influence.

On 1 November 1941 I was present at Bhanpuri when a new Diwan (as the head of the ghotul is called there) was appointed. The girls and boys assembled shortly after nine for what was called the *Diwali mark*, or eating of parched rice in honour of the Diwali festival. Each member had to bring a contribution to the feast: big boys and girls brought one seer each, somewhat younger children brought half a seer and the little probationers a quarter. The rice was collected on mats spread on the ground in the compound and carefully measured. Part was put aside for the villagers—in fact for the children's own parents; part was allocated to a neighbouring village with whom the ghotul was on friendly terms; the rest was for the present company.

Then the elder boys retired inside the ghotul and deliberated about the appointment of their new Diwan. This was only a formality, since the matter had been settled long before. They came out and declared that they had chosen Gando the Sirkil. The Bekna and Dulcna, the two leading girls, then went to Gando, pulled him to his feet and thumped him hard on the back crying 'Diwan, Diwan'. After the Bekna had put a ring on his finger, he went round and saluted everyone with Johar. After a few days he would, he promised, treat them to eight annas' worth of liquor.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

828 In some places there is a boy called Pargana Manjhi who exercises the same functions as that official actually does in the life of the tribe. Normally, however, appeals against the decisions of the ghotul leaders go to some older man who has retained his association with the ghotul for that very purpose.

The girl leader is generally appointed by the older boys in consultation with the Kotwar and the motiari. This is an entirely informal matter, there is no election, there is rarely a dispute. In some places the ghotul 'wife' of the leading boy becomes the head of the girls, especially in those ghotul where the girls' names are the same as those of the boys. Thus, where the Diwan is the head of the boys the Diwanin will lead the girls. In those villages where the Gaita's son has the right to leadership of the boys, the Gaita's daughter has a similar privilege among the girls.

The actual ceremony of appointment of a Belosa is similar to that of a Sirdar or Diwan but omits, of course, the tying of a turban. The elders say to the girl, 'Greet the boys with Johar, give them tobacco, comb their hair, massage their limbs, keep the ghotul clean, look after the younger girls, see there is no scandal; this is your responsibility and charge'.

IV

863 In some villages, specially in those of the north-west (in the Kalpatti-Bandadesh and Paralkot-Kalpatti Parganas) there is a rule that the son of the village 554 Gaita must be the head of the ghotul. Thus in Kollibera and Barkot I found that the Gaita's son ranked, even when he was a little boy, above the son of the Pargana Manjhi and this boy or some other relative of the Gaita was always the head of the ghotul. In Sarandi the son of the Dhurwa and in Padbera the son of the Manjhi were the leaders of their ghotul. The head of the Barkot ghotul was called Gaita and was the Gaita's son. The head of the Mannegaon ghotul was also called Gaita and the post was held by the son of Kandru, the Gaita of that village. In a Ghotul Pata recorded at Markabera, the village Gaita's son is leader of the chelik and the Gaita's daughter leader of the motiari.

883 But in other villages throughout the whole Muria area such an idea is unheard of and, when I have suggested it, has been indignantly rejected. The 183 only leadership is that of character; the whole principle of the ghotul, I have been told again and again, is that everyone is equal, rich or poor, the son of priest, headman or landlord, all are one in this fellowship which knows no wealth-distinction or privilege of inherited rank. And this, I think, is true. The Muria belief in equality is often carried to quite fantastic lengths. If work is demanded from a village by the Government, every family contributes the same amount. If in any ghotul all the boys have titles and there are thus no probationers to bring wood in the evenings, all the boys go together to fetch wood in a cart; each cuts exactly the same quantity and all bring the wood home. If one boy is not able to be present, they postpone the task till another day. If the village gets any present it must be exactly distributed and at feasts exact measurements are made of parched rice, meat or liquor. The Muria of Chandabera said that 'if one of our tribe were to pile up heaps of gold before us, we would still say "O, he is only a relation; our sons can marry his daughters",' and in Phunder the headman said, 'Of all the good things our children learn in the ghotul, one of the best is that everyone is equal'. In Phulpar, the leader was the son of the Atpariha or village drudge. At Chandabera, the Kotwar was deformed; at Bhanpuri, the Daroga was blind. Both had important duties and every privilege.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 A W32 Gond A W32
Muria

GHOTUL MEMBERSHIP AND RULES

X883 829 The Muria belief in equality is illustrated by a characteristic story. 'Raja Dokara ruled in Tulsidongri. It was thick jungle: there was no Brahmin to cook his food. So he went to Bhagavan to ask for one. Bhagavan said, "Certainly take one if you can recognize him. They all look alike to me". Bhagavan told everyone to wear a dhoti, and when they came, Brahmin and Ganda, Muria and Dhakar, Halba and Maria, the Raja found it impossible to tell which was which. So he sent Idur Kola Pen to see what he could do, but he also failed. At last a fly came and said, "Give me something to eat, and I'll get you a Brahmin". Idur Kola Pen offered it gold and silver and many tax-free villages. "No", said the fly, "I don't want these. There's a sore on your leg. Let me sit and feed there." Idur Kola Pen allowed it, and when it had fed, the fly settled on a Brahmin's head. Thus the man was recognized and he became Raja Dokara's cook.'

X883 554 This conception of complete democracy affects the position of the leaders. Their power is not absolute; they can be, and sometimes are, removed from office. They can be punished by a meeting of the other members. At Palari, the three leaders—Diwan, Tahsildar and Jamadar—abused their position, and the boys and girls met and fined them. In any case, the rule of the ghotul is not that of a dictator, but of a council. Associated with the chief boy or girl is a company of two or three who advise them on all important matters.

These leaders do, of course, have their privileges. The little boys fag for them and massage them if the girls are absent. Little girls do the Belosa's hair and run her errands. In ghotul where partners have to be constantly changed, the leaders are sometimes allowed to have girls of their own. In Banjora, for example, the Kotwar, who is there the leader, and the Belosa always sleep together, though the others must change every two or three days.

V

X883 563 Are members of other tribes and the Hindu castes admitted to the ghotul? This is the sort of question that is usually met with an indignant denial from the Muria elders, who explain that they never admit outsiders for fear of possible matrimonial complications, and equally indignant denials from Hindus and others who claim that the ghotul is a degraded institution to which they would never send their children. Neither is true.

Throughout the Muria area may be found examples—not many examples, but some—of Muria-Lohar, Rawat, Nahar and even the despised Ganda and Ghasia being admitted as members of the dormitory. Such children receive titles; they are allotted duties and allowed all ghotul privileges. In Palli Barkot the people said that Muria-Lohar boys and girls were given the fullest privileges but that there was a ban on Mahara, Rawat and Kuruk. The Lohar children could sleep with the Muria children, but must not marry them. In Nayanar I discovered to my astonishment that two of the girls who were taking the leading part at a Muria wedding were Lohar—the Aloea and Duloea of the ghotul. In Markabera, the most popular girl in the entire company, the Saile who had a Muria ghotul-partner, was a Lohar. The Belosa of the Mule ghotul was a Lohar, so was the Salya; in 1941 the Jamadar of Kokoti, the Jamadar of Phunder, the Jalaru (a girl) of Phunder, the Jhoria of Modenga were all Lohar.

The leading drummer of Hatipakna was a Nahar and two of his brothers and a sister were also prominent members of the ghotul. At Junganar a Ganda boy was made the Suel, and a Ghasia was the Kotwar at Modenga. In Phunder there was a Kalar boy. Rawat are commonly admitted.

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

764 has been specially hollowed out for this purpose. Usually
273 there is no stock of rice-beer at hand and it cannot be made so quickly. The Maria then mix a little mandia flour with water and give this instead.

If for any reason in the course of the ceremony some rite or custom is omitted the spirit of the dead man may attack one or other of the mourners in order to show his displeasure. For example, at Gadapal, Burka Peda told me that they once forgot to give landa to the old menhirs and the insulted Dead attacked his father's sister and she fell down in a fit. They quickly gave both landa and mahua liquor to all the menhirs and she recovered. Again in Mahara-Karka one Kuhrami Eriya was hurled into the fire by the angry ghost and his leg was burnt. If this happens it is a good plan for the victim to run and catch
[709] hold of the bamboo poles with which the stone was carried. The Gaita pours water upon him and the angry ghost leaves him alone.

IX

322 When a very well-known or wealthy man dies his family
766 sometimes erects a carved wooden pillar to his memory.
554 There are very few of these pillars, though the custom of making them is far from moribund, but the expense is great and only the most important people are considered worthy of them.

522 These pillars are called by Grigson urasgatta, a word that
766 is obviously formed on the same plan as uraskal, from *urasna* meaning 'to bury' and *gatta*—'a pillar'. I have not myself found any Maria using the word or even recognizing it when it has been put to them. It may be that its use has died out. The Maria to whom I have spoken call these pillars either *munde* (Gondi) or *kambha* (Halbi or Hindi).

The pillars are usually erected near a highway—not necessarily a motorable one. It should simply be near any road or path that is constantly used by the people. The pillars are usually made of saja or sarai wood and are erected with ceremonies very similar to those for a stone.

There are not many of these pillars, but they are worth looking at. There is a very fine one near Dilmilli

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

Kuakonda. When Telami Dhurwa returned from jail after killing a man in a drunken quarrel, he offered his clan-god Uru Maru, a pig, a cow and a hen, and had to undergo the usual ceremonies of purification. 783

Apart from these ceremonies, however, the fact that a man has served a sentence for murder has singularly little influence on his social position and domestic happiness. It is true that imprisonment, if it is for a very long term, sometimes acts as an automatic divorce, and women feel that they are at liberty to marry again. But generally wives wait for their husbands to be released, as I found Deve, the wife of Kawasi Borga, waiting for her husband at Doriras. Borga, ten years before, had gone to jail with a life-sentence for killing his uncle. His wife had all the time been well looked after by the villagers, and I found her house substantial and prosperous. Her two sons had been successfully married and were carrying on the business of their home with the help of their wives. 554 558 [586] [593]

People, however, are sometimes afraid to marry a released murderer. Doga of Jabeli must be one of the luckiest young men alive, for after being sentenced to transportation for one murder he was released after three years; whereupon he is said to have killed his wife, was sentenced to death and again got off on appeal. He came to see me armed with a ferocious-looking axe, which had actually been put in evidence at one of his trials as the weapon with which he had committed murder. He was trying to get a new wife, but without success. 'They are all afraid of me', he said, 'for fear I might kill them as well'. But he thought he might possibly get a widow. Another youth who found it very difficult to get a new wife was Hemla Bakka, who killed his wife for committing adultery, and got three years' imprisonment for it. At Aranpur all the girls were frightened of the charming Gutte, who had been in jail for killing a man in a drunken quarrel after a cock-fight. They thought if they displeased him, he might murder them too. 554 582

At Khutepal, Oyami Masa, who was imprisoned for killing his junior wife, seems to have suffered no loss of prestige on account of it. He is a Waddai, and when I was there he 554 558

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

554 558 went over to Tikanpal to offer sacrifice on behalf of that village.

At Muler I visited the widow of Ido Deva, an unpleasant quarrelsome fellow who had recently been hanged for murdering one of the most popular men in the village. In spite of this, his widow was well treated. She was not excommunicated and was allowed to share in the usual feasts. But she always remained inside her house, and generally refused to talk to people; the headman told me that there would probably be some difficulty in getting her two sons married, for people would say, 'After all, their father was a murderer'.

005 The relationship between the families of a murderer and his victim is always a delicate one, and Frazer has collected many examples from all over the world in illustration. The Uraon make sacrifices to the angry ghost of a murdered man, and sometimes even reckon him among the ancestral spirits of his murderer. Roy records that two Uraon, related to each other as cousins, had a quarrel over a piece of land; and one of them, in a sudden fit of anger, thrust his axe into the bowels of his companion. The man, thus struck, at once ran to his assailant's house and, pressing his wounded stomach with his hands, sat down at one corner of the hut and exclaimed, 'Here I establish myself', and then ran out again to the field in dispute and dropped down dead. To this day, the descendants of the murderer propitiate the murdered man's spirit. After the harvest, the first sheaf of paddy from the field where he fell dead is offered to his spirit at the same corner of the house where he sat down before his death. The descendants of the murdered man too are allowed access to the spot in order to make similar offerings.[1]

682 571 I have not found this custom in Bastar, though that does not mean that it does not exist. But I have found everywhere an anxiety that there should not be any enmity between the families. Compensation is often paid to the victim's widow or family, and the murderer's family may contribute to the expenses of the funeral. Both families should always have a feast together. In Gamawada the family of an imprisoned homicide, Barse Mata, gave every kind of help to the relatives of his victim: among other

[1] S. C. Roy, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), pp. 60 f.